

## ROSEBERRY'S EXIT.

RIDING FOR A FALL WITH A GLADSTONE FENCE HARDLY HIGH ENOUGH FOR THE PURPOSE.

London, October 19. Mr. Linley Sambourne, who is one of the best draughtsmen in the service of "Punch," may have been responsible for Lord Rosebery's abrupt abdication. It was on Wednesday that one of the most effective of recent cartoons appeared, and before midnight the titular leader of the Liberal party was again a free man and in a position to speak his mind without reference to party. Certainly, if Lord Rosebery were still in doubt respecting the urgent necessity for withdrawal from an intolerable position, the satire of the cartoon which represented him as lounging in his library with a book of Burns's poetry and complaining of the weather, while his rival, Sir William Harcourt, equipped like a breezy squire for the chase, was returning from a day's sport over the Armenian covers, would have sharpened the edge of his impulse to retire. His decision was reached impetuously, almost in a fit of pique, and there was no consultation with any of his party associates; nor does his speech, delivered at Edinburgh last night, contain any adequate explanation of his sudden evacuation of official position. Lord Rosebery, being a humorist himself, is keenly sensitive to ridicule. Possibly Mr. Linley Sambourne with accurate aim caught him on the weak.

The recent Radical intrigues against Lord Rosebery, directed by Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Labouchere, had missed fire. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had not renounced their allegiance to him. There were signs of coolness and distrust of his leadership, but there was no open revolt, and the party organization was controlled by him. There was no sharp divergence of opinion between him and his colleagues on the Armenian question. Like them, he had no other feeling than that of abhorrence for the Sultan, who had been organizing atrocious conspiracies against life in the East; and like them, also, he did not consider it expedient to let England should intervene single-handed in Turkish affairs and raise the signal for a general massacre of Christians in Asia Minor and possibly for the outbreak of European war. They occupied common ground on these questions of modern diplomacy and civilization, and were equally reluctant to follow the advice of hot-headed zealots and to make a partisan use of popular agitation in England against the Sultan. Lord Rosebery has been a diplomatic and cautious in his utterances than his colleagues have been; and he is also an imperialist of the Chamberlain type, and is not only capable of taking broader views than they of the destiny of the Empire, but has also less patience with the narrowness of the Little Englanders, who clamor for the evacuation of Egypt, and for the resumption of the old-time policy of non-intervention in Continental affairs; but these considerations do not serve to explain his resignation.

OVERAWED BY MR. GLADSTONE.

While Lord Rosebery complains that he has received explicit support scarcely from any quarter, he admits that the situation, except as it regards Mr. Gladstone, is not altogether new. Unless he was looking for a convenient pretext for retiring from a position which had become intolerably distasteful to him, the element which has controlled his action in this crisis of Liberal fortunes has been a conflict of opinion with Mr. Gladstone. Otherwise his resignation is unintelligible and inexplicable, either from his dislike of Mr. Gladstone or from his dislike of Mr. Gladstone's latest utterances respecting England's duty in the East. He would have remained the nominal leader of the Liberal party; but since a conflict of opinion had arisen, he was conscious of the matchless authority exercised by the veteran in retirement, and laid down the burdens of political responsibility. This explanation serves to reveal the inherent weakness of a leader who has been overwhelmed for two years with the sense of the delicacy and difficulty of his position as Mr. Gladstone's successor. As Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition, he occupied an office of the highest dignity and responsibility, and he might have ventured to exercise his own judgment and to direct the lines of party policy without reference to the advice and moral support of the great statesman of our generation; but he has been constantly overawed and sometimes almost demoralized by consciousness of the personality of Mr. Gladstone as the greatest single force on the Liberal side for a generation, and of his own inability to succeed him with potency and authority.

Mr. Gladstone's successor could not have hoped at any time to rival him in personal influence over the electorate and in the incomparable gift of exciting enthusiasm among followers. Nobody expected him to do this. What was considered probable was that, with his resources of humor and tact, his talent for public speaking and his flexibility of mind, he would be an exceptionally adroit and practical political leader. He has disappointed the expectations of his friends and alarmed from the outset. The Liberal party has seemed to be adrift without policy or leadership, and with a nervous, timorous hand on the tiller. The election last year marked a popular reaction against a party which had been promising many reforms without accomplishing anything, and which, by the confession of the leader, could do nothing in future unless the Lords were upset.

In opposition Lord Rosebery has been amiable and versatile, but he has lacked the courage and force required for proclaiming new policies and concentrating the energies of a defeated party. The commonest excuses offered for his failures are that he has never had a fair chance, that he has not been loyally supported and that nobody could have held the party together after Mr. Gladstone's retirement; but these are specious methods of begging the question. A real leader would have commanded the support of his followers, and would not have frittered away the resources of his party while it was in power; and in opposition he would have shown himself a good fighter. Lord Rosebery is a man of many talents, but he is not a leader, and he is not a statesman of genuine force of character.

HARCOURT'S LEADERSHIP.

Lord Rosebery was unfortunate in being excluded from the House of Commons, where Sir William Harcourt, whom he had supplanted in the leadership of the Liberal party, was showing how well he was qualified for the succession to Mr. Gladstone. Nothing could have been more brilliant from a tactical point of view than the generalship displayed by Sir William Harcourt in handling a weak, disorganized minority and compelling the Government to withdraw the Education bill. When a political party has been disastrously beaten and is demoralized, it needs an aggressive tactician, and Sir William Harcourt is one. He has made a brilliant use of his opportunity, while his rival, as the leader of a beggarly minority in the House of Lords, where nothing was done, was chafing under hopeless disabilities. It is now the turn of Sir William Harcourt; Rosebery's supremacy was recognized, but when he was in opposition his influence was diminished, whereas the authority of Sir William Harcourt was undiminished. It was an untimely and ill-considered move which Lord Rosebery made, and he has withdrawn from it as soon as circumstances enabled him to do so with some semblance of dignity.

INADEQUATE EXPLANATIONS.

The occasion which Lord Rosebery selected was a singular one. The Armenian question has not been regarded as a party issue. The leaders on both sides have mutually agreed to keep it out of politics, and to discuss it as a matter of conscience, moral obligation and enlightened patriotism. Mr. Gladstone has been studiously moderate and discreet in his speeches, and has refrained from increasing the embarrassments

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and difficulties of the Government. He has, indeed, proposed single-handed intervention on the part of England in Turkish affairs, but has stipulated that the character of the intervention must be decided by the House of Commons. Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Bryce had advocated formal repudiation of the Constantinople Convention, and recommended a diplomatic mission to the Sultan, but Mr. Harcourt and other Liberal leaders had contented themselves with generalities. Lord Rosebery himself had furnished as early as September 18, 1895, a plan for a diplomatic mission to the Sultan, but it seems to have been taken over by Mr. Harcourt. It does not involve a European war, and it is not a detestable system of government for it to be a system as well as a man which now exists in Turkey. This was followed by Sir William Harcourt and other Liberal leaders. It is not easy to define the divergence of views of which Lord Rosebery complains, and in consequence of which he has considered it necessary to separate himself from his political associates. Such explanations as Lord Rosebery has offered to account for his unusual course in resigning the leadership, and tend to deepen the impression that he has acted impetuously and from pique. His protest against the Constantinople Convention, isolated action by Great Britain on the Eastern question, and in support of the worn-out contention that nothing should be done unless the Sultan could be induced to accept a plan which was not in concert with the Sultan, would not serve the purpose of self-justification. Sir William Harcourt has been his most outspoken critic, and he has not advised single-handed intervention on the part of Great Britain. Lord Rosebery had this with qualifications which rendered his advice inoperative; and upon him Lord Rosebery settled the responsibility of admitting that he had no noble and sublime spirit and at once declared himself "the final word of grace to his successor."

Lord Rosebery reached this lame and impotent conclusion at the close of his Edinburgh speech, and then on "Black and White" he declared that the Armenian question was, after all, only the last of a series of incidents, that as a peer he had been followed by a hostile assembly with a still less than a champion, and that he had received "very exceptional support." Lord Rosebery was almost cynical in the frankness with which he confessed that for a long time he had been riding for a fall, but would stop at nothing to save his position. He had no other feeling than that of abhorrence for the Sultan, who had been organizing atrocious conspiracies against life in the East; and like them, also, he did not consider it expedient to let England should intervene single-handed in Turkish affairs and raise the signal for a general massacre of Christians in Asia Minor and possibly for the outbreak of European war. They occupied common ground on these questions of modern diplomacy and civilization, and were equally reluctant to follow the advice of hot-headed zealots and to make a partisan use of popular agitation in England against the Sultan. Lord Rosebery has been a diplomatic and cautious in his utterances than his colleagues have been; and he is also an imperialist of the Chamberlain type, and is not only capable of taking broader views than they of the destiny of the Empire, but has also less patience with the narrowness of the Little Englanders, who clamor for the evacuation of Egypt, and for the resumption of the old-time policy of non-intervention in Continental affairs; but these considerations do not serve to explain his resignation.

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RETURN OF JOHN HARE.

The pleasing announcement was long since made that Mr. Hare would return to America in the course of the present season, and make a professional tour, extending through many of our principal cities. It is now proclaimed that Mr. Hare's company will sail on October 23, aboard the Allan company ship, and will arrive in New York on November 1, at which time the season will begin. The tour will be managed, as it was last season, by Mr. Charles T. H. Holmes. Mr. Hare and his family are to sail from Liverpool on November 4, aboard the Majestic, for New York. Mr. Hare is joining his company at Montreal. The season will begin on November 1, at Buffalo. Mr. Hare will visit, in succession, Toronto, November 2; Buffalo, November 3; Detroit, November 4; Indianapolis, November 5; Toledo, November 6; Chicago, November 7; St. Paul, November 8; Minneapolis, November 9; St. Louis, November 10; Kansas City, November 11; Omaha, November 12; St. Joseph, November 13; St. Charles, November 14; St. Louis, November 15; St. Paul, November 16; Minneapolis, November 17; St. Louis, November 18; St. Paul, November 19; Minneapolis, November 20; St. Louis, November 21; St. Paul, November 22; Minneapolis, November 23; St. Louis, November 24; St. Paul, November 25; Minneapolis, November 26; St. Louis, November 27; St. Paul, November 28; Minneapolis, November 29; St. Louis, November 30; St. Paul, November 31; Minneapolis, December 1; St. Louis, December 2; St. Paul, December 3; Minneapolis, December 4; St. Louis, December 5; St. Paul, December 6; Minneapolis, December 7; St. Louis, December 8; St. Paul, December 9; Minneapolis, December 10; St. Louis, December 11; 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